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CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equa, freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them. JEFFERSON."

REPORT of Chancellor Wolworth, chairman of a committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to whom was referred the communication of the Secretary relative to the Cape Palmas Mission.

We publish this Report without comment. We however append a communication addressed by Dr. McGill to the Editors of the New England Puritan, the paper in which the Report appeared, replying only to such parts thereof as appeared to him to throw unmerited censure upon the colonists and the government of the colony of which he is a member.

Reported: That they have examined the documents accompanying the communication and the correspondence between the Secretary of the Board and the President of the Maryland State Colonization Society, so far as their limited time would allow, and that they fully concur in the conclusion at which the Prudential Committee have arrived, that it is expedient, if not absolutely necessary to the successful operations of the mission, that it should be removed from the territory of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas. To give a full or detailed account of all the difficulties which exist in carrying on the necessary operations of the Board within the limits of this colony in Western Africa, would occupy more time than it is possible for the committee to devote to the subject during the session of the Board.

In bringing this subject before the Board for its advice and direction, the Prudential Committee very properly declined to bring into question the merits of the scheme of colonization, or the general policy of the Maryland Society, or of its colony at Cape Palmas, as not necessary to the objects of the Board as a missionary institution merely. And for the same reasons your committee think it their duty to refrain from discussing that subject in this report.

The following is a brief statement of some of the difficulties which have been found to exist in the successful prosecution of the missionary labors of this Board within the bounds of the Maryland Colony. The first station of the mission to Western Africa, established in 1834, was planted on Cape Palmas, at a place now called Fair Hope, within the bounds of the territory of the Maryland Colonization Society, and upon lands which were granted by the agent of that society, to be held by this Board so long as they should be required for missionary purposes. Under this grant the station was

occupied by the Rev. I. Leighton Wilson and wife, the first missionaries of the Board to Western Africa. Two other stations were subsequently formed at Rock Town and Fish Town, both at that time beyond the bounds of the Colonial Territory, though the station at Rock Town, by a subsequent purchase by the society, is now included within its limits. Nothing occurred to bring the mission into any collision with the government of the colony until 1838, when an attempt to collect a military fine from a native coloured man in the employ of the mission as a teacher was made, under the provision of an ordinance passed by the Maryland Society for the government of its colony. The 32nd section of that ordinance required all males residing within the territory of the colony to be enrolled in the general militia; and rendered them liable to be called upon, at the discretion of the agent, in defence of the colony, under officers appointed by him. This attempt to coerce military duty from coloured persons in the employ of the mission as teachers was resisted by Mr. Wilson as inconsistent with the spirit of the missionary operations of this Board; whose missionaries are taught to rely upon the strong arm of Jehovah instead of the sword for their protection and defence, in their attempts to carry the gospel of peace to the dark and benighted heathen world. This subject of difference between Mr. Wilson and Gov. Russwurm, the colonial agent, was referred to the Prudential Committee of the Board, and to the Maryland Society, and was for the time satisfactorily adjusted. By the correspondence which then took place between the Secretary of the Board and the President of the Maryland Society, it was arranged by the latter that missionaries going from this courtry as such, whether white or coloured, and whose character at Cape Palmas continued to be that of missionaries only, should be exempted alike from the duties and privileges of citizens of the colony. And it was supposed to be admitted by the Maryland Society as a settled principle of law that foreigners, residing for a temporary purpose only, within the limits of the colony could not be called upon to do military duty, or to perform other services of a like character, which citizens of the colony as such were liable to perform. In May, 1841, however, our missionaries ascertained that the Maryland Society had determined that all the natives of Africa who came to reside within the limits of the colonial territory, were for special and temporary purposes, to be subjected to the performance of military service, and a liability to be called upon to bear arms against the native tribes to which they belonged. And in accordance with this determination, several young men employed by the mission as teachers, printers, etc. belonging to tribes and communities of natives beyond the limits of the colony, and owing no allegiance to its government, were fined for not performing military duty. These facts having been communicated to the Prudential Committee of the Board, a correspondence was again opened with the Maryland Society, through its president, in November last, which finally resulted in resolutions by the Prudential Committee, that they felt bound, in justice to their missionaries, to enter their serious and earnest protest against the enforcement of this military regulation of the Maryland Colonization Society, against the missionaries and assistant missionaries of the Board at Cape Palmas, their native helpers and pupils, respectfully requesting the Board of Managers of that Society to give to their agent such instructions as would effectually prevent any agitation of that subject for the future. These resolutions having been communicated to the president of that society, and laid before the Board of Managers, they came to the conclusion that the interest of their colony required the enforcement of this military regulation against the native teachers and other in the employ of the missionaries of the Board; and they accordingly communicated to the

Prudential Committee their fixed determination to adhere to their ordinance in that respect.

If this were the only difficulty in the case, your committee might have hoped, from the christian courtesy in which the whole correspondence has been carried on, between the President of the Society and the Secretary of the Board, that some arrangement of that subject might still have been effected, which would have relieved this Board from the painful necessity of removing their mission from the limits of the territory of the colony. But the Colonization Society at home, and its local government at Cape Palmas have thought it necessary, in protecting the peculiar interests of its citizens as colonists, to adopt other regulations which have perplexed and embarrassed the operations of the mission to a considerable extent. Among other things, a law has been passed by the colonial government to confine the right of trading or dealing in merchandise to the citizens of the colony, with certain exceptions. By the operation of this law, the missionaries are restricted from disposing of merchandise, &c. sent out to them for the payment of persons in their employ in the colony, at an advance upon its cost. And as the usual price at which such goods are sold by others, in payment of labour, materials &c. is at one hundred per cent. advance. The practical operation of the law appears to be to compel the missionaries to pay nearly double what is paid by others for the same services, &c; as there is little or no money in circulation there. Another law provides that persons of African descent, emigrating to the colony for employment, shall obtain a certificate of residence, under a heavy penalty for each days' neglect; which certificate of residence brings them necessarily within the operation of the ordinance relative to militia duty. And as almost the only persons of that description who come into the colony for employment are teachers whom the missionaries have procured from different points of the coast, the missionaries have reason to consider this law as particularly aimed at them, by the local government of the colony; and as intended to embarrass them in procuring such teachers and retaining them in their service.

Your committee, however, from the correspondence of the missionaries and otherwise, have arrived at the conclusion, that the real cause of the difficulty of continuing missionary operations within the territorial bounds of the colony, with the view of extending the blessings of christianity to the native tribes of this portion of benighted Africa lies much deeper than the gratification of unkind feelings on the part of the colonists, towards the missionaries of this Board. And that the inherent difficulties of the case, is the fact that the local authorities of the colony find, or at least suppose that the temporal interests of the colonists as such, necessarily conflict with the objects of the Board, in establishing its missionary stations in the colony or its neighbourhood, to civilize and christianize the native inhabitants. It is perfectly natural that the government of a colony possessing territorial jurisdiction, and exercising civil power therein, should direct its attention to the increase of the wealth, the supply of the temporal wants, and the securing of the personal safety of the colonists, rather than to the spiritual good of the native inhabitants of the country in which such colony is planted, while the attention of the faithful missionaries of the Board, located within the colony, is primarily if not exclusively directed to the latter object. The result of such a conflict of interests and of duties, between the colonists and the missionaries, has been, in this case, to render the colonists hostile, both to the native inhabitants of the coast and to the missionaries who are labouring for the spiritual welfare of such natives; and thus to render a removal of the mission necessary as well as expedient. All which is respectfully submitted.

BALTIMORE, MD., *Oct.* 1, 1842.

To the Editors of the N. E. Puritan:

Gentlemen,—I noticed in your paper of the 22nd ult. the Report of a Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, "to whom was referred the communication relative to the mission at Cape Palmas," in which are contained many reflections upon the character of the government and the colonists at Cape Palmas, tending to injure them in the estimation of mankind. Being a citizen of that colony, and, of course, suffering in common with other of my brethren, I feel myself impelled, by the highest and most solemn considerations, to repel the unjust charges and unwarrantable assumptions contained in that Report; and I trust, gentlemen, that in consideration of the circumstances of the case, you will be disposed to admit this communication to your columns. I am aware that the bare assertions of an humble colored man, banished by a cruel prejudice from his native land, and who has sought a home in barbarous Africa, can have but little weight when thrown into the balance against the dicta of the congregated learning and piety of the most intelligent body of Christians in the United States; and it is with a deep sense of my unfitness for the task, that I presume to comment upon the Report of a Committee of gentlemen of such standing, honoured by the name of its distinguished chairman. But duty to myself and a much-injured people, compels me to come forward and declare wherein we are injured, and to appeal to the justice of the American public. It is not my purpose, at all, to discuss the question at issue between the Maryland State Colonization Society and the A. B. C. F. M. I merely propose to defend myself and my brethren where we have been most unjustly assailed.

I would, however, remark, that even previous to the establishment of the colony at Cape Palmas, the constitution and the code of laws, so far as they affect the question at issue between the Colonization and Missionary Boards, were written and published, and copies thereof distributed throughout Liberia and the United States. The principles there laid down were, that no person should reside within the colony, unless by special permission of the agent; that all residents in the colony should bear arms in its defence; and subsequently, it was granted, at the special request of the American Board, that missionaries leaving the United States, as such, should be exempted from military duty. No other exemption was at first asked, and none other, to my knowledge, has been granted, except as a matter of favour. "The first difficulty which occurred," says the Report, "was in 1838, (four years after the establishment of the mission,) when an attempt was made to collect a fine from a *native coloured* man in the employ of the Mission, as a *teacher*." This brief statement contains two material errors, and both of a character involving important principles, with regard to the existing differences. The man was not a *native*, nor a *teacher*. He was born in Baltimore, emigrated to Liberia in 1831, went to Cape Palmas in the first expedition, as a house servant of Dr. Hall, then governor of the colony. Upon Mr. Wilson's arrival in the colony, he found much difficulty in transacting business with the natives, and was exceedingly anxious to obtain an assistant; and, upon earnest and repeated applications to Dr. Hall, he consented that he should take this man, John Banks, into his service, as an interpreter and *servant*, in which capacity he remained for some years, receiving such instruction from Mr. Wilson as ultimately fitted him for taking charge of a native school. Previous to his going to Mr. Wilson he signed the constitution, was enrolled in the militia, and drew his lot of land. He merely left one man's service, and entered that of another, *on wages*, never professed any scruples at bearing arms, and

never, I believe, professed religion. He is now discharged from the mission, and is, as before, a citizen of the colony. Yet this same Banks was excused, by the Board of Managers, from doing military duty while in Mr. Wilson's service, as a matter of favour, although actually a colonist, residing within the limits of the colony, and enjoying the immunities and privileges of citizenship.

The other part of the Report of the Committee, relative to the matter of military duty, refers rather to the relations between the Maryland State Colonization Society and the American Board, of which I propose not to speak.

The Report states another ground of difficulty to be the law recently passed respecting trade in the colony, "by which the missionaries are restricted from disposing of merchandise, &c., sent out to them for the payment of persons in their employ in the colony, at an advance on its cost." This law was passed by the agent and council, on account of the repeated complaints of the colonists, of the exorbitant price which they were charged by the missionaries for articles of merchandise, received in payment of labour. Mechanics were accustomed to labour for the missionaries at as low rates as they can be procured in any tropical country, and lower than in most, from $1 to $2 per day; for which they received payment in goods, at a large advance on their first cost. If imported by the missionary, at 100 per cent.—if purchased of vessels on the coast, at 100 per cent., on the purchase price there,—and that varying from 50 to 100 per cent. on the first cost, would bring the goods to the colonist labourer not unfrequently at 300 per cent. on the first cost. By the present system, cash only is received in payment for labour, but the wages are reduced from 40 to 50 per cent. The only cause of complaint, therefore, is, that the poor expatriated African demands the currency of the world for his labour, instead of articles of merchandise, which he frequently *does not want*, and at a *rate* which must be acknowledged *exorbitant*.

The Report further states, as a ground of complaint, that laws have been enacted with reference to the admission of foreigners into the colony, which "Missionaries have reason to believe as particularly aimed at them by the local government of the colony." Now, as I before stated, this very law was promulgated previous to the founding of the colony, copied from the statute book of the old colony of Liberia, only with additional enactments, affixing a penalty to render the law effective, when it was but too plainly seen that it was habitually disregarded by the attachees of the mission. The intimation, therefore, that this law was passed to harrass or annoy the missionaries, is extremely unjust. The law is no farther aimed at the missionaries than is necessary to maintain its supremacy.

The Report further states, that the cause of the difficulties "*lies much deeper than the gratification of unkind feelings on the part of the colonists towards the missionaries of this Board.*" I am at a loss to conjecture what information could have been placed before the committee to induce them to use the above language: implying that it was an admitted fact, that unkind feelings did exist towards the missionaries of the American Board, and that the gratification of those unkind feelings was the *proximate*, although not the *remote* cause of existing difficulties. Let the grounds or data of such conclusion be what they may, I pronounce the whole false, and a gross libel upon a much injured people. That the "cause lies deeper," I admit; but that cause is the *extreme aversion on the part of the white missionary to be subject to the authority of a coloured man.* Further evidence of this cannot be required, than the following language, used by Rev. J. L. Wilson, to the governor of the colony, upon the sub-

ject of collecting fines of the man Banks, before referred to:—"Furthermore, I charge you never again to authorize one of your officers to enter my premises for the purpose of collecting fines, serving writs," &c. It may readily be supposed that conduct and deportment towards the chief magistrate of the colony, corresponding with the above language, would readily account for the existence of difficulties, without attributing them to unkind feelings on the part of the colonists.

The Report then goes on in a disingenuous and unfair manner to contrast the colonists and missionaries; representing the one as seeking only temporal prosperity and worldly good, and the other of devoting themselves solely to the great work of evangelizing the heathen: stating as a "fact that the local authorities of the colony, find or at least suppose the temporal interests of the colonists, as such necessarily conflict with the object of the Board in establishing its missionary stations in the colony, or its neighbourhood, to civilize or christianize its native inhabitants." And "the result of such a conflict of interests and of duties between the colonists and missionaries has been in this case to render the colonists hostile both to the native inhabitants of the coast and to the missionaries who are labouring for the spiritual welfare of such nations." That the colonists at Cape Palmas in point of respectability and intelligence cannot compare with the white missionaries, I readily admit; that a majority of us did not leave this country with the same exalted and noble views and purposes; that our conduct and daily walk is not so exemplary; that we direct our attention to the increase of wealth, the supply of temporal wants and the securing of our personal safety, I also admit. But it is *untrue* that we, as a people are in *any degree* opposed to the *most extensive prosecution* of *missionary labours among the nations within the limits of the colony and its vicinity;* and it is not "a *fact* that the government of the colony supposes the temporal interests of the colonists to conflict with the object of the missionary Board." The colonists are generally a devotedly pious and religious people and consider themselves as a great mission family, labouring for the good of their benighted brethren, and I can now select many colonists in Liberia who have trained up more native children in their families as christians,—now members of the christian church, than are to be numbered as native communicants in the Presbyterian mission at Cape Palmas. The statement that the colonists at Cape Palmas are "hostile to the native inhabitants of the coast" is also untrue. In proof whereof I adduce the fact of the eight years existence of the colony, and the promiscuous intermixture of the colonists and natives in all the various occupations in life without any open rupture or declared hostility. It is the principle of the Maryland Colonization Society, the intent and policy of the colonial government and the desire of all intelligent colonists that *all means should be used to elevate and improve the character of the natives.* The principles and interests of all demand this, as but little hope can exist, under the present slow rate of immigration, of the permanency of the colony, unless a community of interest between the colonists and natives is induced and a way opened for their ultimate amalgamation.

I have thus endeavoured in as brief a manner as possible to repel the unjust charges against a people far remote, and who seem to have no other advocate before the bar of public opinion but my humble self. I have studiously endeavoured to avoid any general discussion of the subjects referred to, or any recrimination for the injury done myself and my fellow-citizens in the Report. In fact, I have no disposition to do so. I have the highest respect for the missionaries of the American Board at Cape Palmas, have considered them as my personal friends, and can only wonder that

through them should be furnished data for the satements contained in the Report. I should most deeply regret to have the members of the mission leave Cape Palmas, but if it must be so, I could wish that the arrangement might be effected without this unwarrantable attack upon the colonists and the colonial government. With much respect, I am,

Your obedient servant,

SAM'L F. MCGILL,
Colonial Physician of Maryland in Liberia.

(From the New York Observer.]

THE CAPE PALMAS DIFFICULTIES.

Office of the Mass. Colonization Society, October 3, 1842.

Messrs. Editors,—As some things which have appeared in print, show that the late action of the American Board, in relation to its Mission in Western Africa, is misunderstood by some persons, will you allow me to call attention to the following facts, by way of correction?

1. The Board has never had a Mission in any of the colonies in Western Africa, except the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas. The other colonies being been occupied by older missions of other societies, the Board could not, according to its established policy, plant missions in them.

2. The reasons assigned by the Board for removing its Mission, are such as exist only at Cape Palmas. The policy of the Maryland colony, which makes the removal necessary, is neither practised nor approved by the American Colonization Society, or by any of its colonies. The late action of the Board, therefore, has no more relation to Liberia, than to the British colony at Sierra Leone. It relates only to the colony at Cape Palmas, which is as distinct from those of Liberia, as are the Foreign Missions of the Wesleyan Methodists from those of the American Board.

3. The mission is not yet removed from Cape Palmas: nor is it certain that it ever will be. The Prudential Committee say, that two of the Missionaries have gone eastward, in search of an eligible location; and if they find one, and their lives are spared, "*it was supposed that the mission will remove;*" and this, it seems, is in consequence of the "fixed determination" of the Maryland Colonization Society, to adhere to its present policy. If that policy should be changed before the removal,—which is certainly possible,—the mission may not be removed at all, even though a favourable location should be found, and a station occupied beyond the limits of the colony.

Finally, no information has yet reached this office, showing that colonization is not beneficial to Africa. Of all the authentic information which has been received, the following extract from the Message of Governor Roberts to the Legislature of Liberia, on the 4th of April last, is a specimen:

"We find great occasion to rejoice in the general welfare of the colony; we are in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace: civil and religious harmony exist, and future prospects are opening before us: through the past year, and up to the present time, peace has been in our borders. Our civil and religious institutions are exerting a most happy influence over the natives around us, they acknowledge our superiority, and are daily adopting our customs.

"Although diseases for the last few months have visited our land, and deprived us of some valuable citizens, (and with them our most excellent Chief Magistrate,) at present the general health of the people is good, and we are called upon to renew our thanks and our devotion to our Heavenly Parent, who has continued his mercies and blessings towards us. If we find

ourselves increasing in wealth, (for the past season has been one of unexampled success to our merchants and agriculturists,) in knowledge, (which I sincerely hope is the case,) and in every thing which promotes human and social happiness, let us ever remember our dependence for all these blessings on the merciful dispensation of Divine Providence; remembering, that 'righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.'"

In view of such testimony, it is hoped that the friends of colonization will not be soon shaken in mind by vague reports.

Respectfully yours, JOSEPH TRACY, *Cor. Sec.*

We copy the foregoing disclaimer of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, that it may have the benefit of the limited circulation of our Journal out of the state, and also, to suggest to the writer that a slight alteration of the phraseology of two sentences would give a more clear view of the facts, and we should hope, of his meaning. In the second of what he terms the "following facts," he says, "The reasons assigned by the Board for removing its mission are such as exist only at Cape Palmas." "The policy of the Maryland colony, which makes the removal necessary, is neither practised nor approved by the American Colonization Society, or by any of its colonies." If the late Report of the Committee of the American Board upon this very subject contains the "Reasons assigned by the Board," certainly the "facts" are not all facts. If we rightly understood that Report it affirms two principal causes of difficulty; 1st. The ordinances exacting military duty from all civilized coloured residents in the colony: 2d. The Statutes of the Colonial Agent and Council respecting commerce. And these two causes are the only ones recognized in the correspondence of the Secretary, Mr. Anderson, with the President of the Society. True the Report speaks of an ill-feeling on part of the colonists towards the missionaries and natives, which it pretends not to support by facts and which is not acknowledged to exist. It also speaks of an ordinance "particularly aimed at the missionaries," respecting the admission of foreigners, requiring them to report themselves, and obtain a certificate of residence under penalty.—Regulations of this kind we believe common to all the colonies, and to all governments.

Now with regard to this first cause of "difficulty," the ordinance respecting military duty, it is the only one which "exists only at Cape Palmas;" and after going fully into this subject the Report says,—"If this were the only difficulty in the case, your committee might have hoped, from the christian courtesy in which the whole correspondence has been carried on between the President of the Society and the Secretary of the Board, that some arrangement upon that subject might still have been effected, which would have relieved this Board from the painful necessity of removing their mission from the limits of the territory of the colony." This therefore it appears from the Report *is* not the cause for the *present* resolve to remove the mission. This matter it was hoped, might yet be arranged. It follows then that the regulations respecting commerce, the ordinance respecting the admission of foreigners, and the alleged ill-feeling on part of the colonists to the mission, are the true causes which "render a removal of the mission necessary as well as expedient." Now for the "causes existing only at

Cape Palmas," and "the policy of the Maryland colony which makes the removal necessary, not being practised nor approved by the American Colonization Society, or any of its colonies." The statutes respecting trade in the colony which forms the ground of complaint by the missionaries of the American Board and which induced one of another denomination to leave the colony at once, were copied almost verbatim from the Statute Book of Liberia, and which were either made by the Colonization Society, or sanctioned by them, and which were framed too in consequence of difficulties with the Methodist mission, and were published in the African Repository, and circulated throughout the United States. They were adopted at Cape Palmas rather to avoid difficulties than cause them. The statute respecting the admission of foreigners was copied too from one existing in the old colony, a penalty only having been affixed to render the law effective. With regard to the ill-feeling towards the missionary we declare it does not exist at Cape Palmas, and provided it did, how can it be alleged that such feelings do not exist at Liberia proper, when the colony has been convulsed for near two years with a *real* difficulty between the government and missionaries, the consequence of which has been to exile from that colony the most efficient white missionary ever known in Liberia, and the one most friendly to the colony.

We do not complain of the American Colonization Society, or any of its auxiliaries, for disclaiming any connexion with the Maryland Society, or any participation in the policy of its government. We should be sorry indeed were they to suffer unjustly on our account, but we wish their officers would examine into the matter *a little* more *particularly* before they read us out of communion.

We copy the following from the Liberia Herald. Brother Teage exercises therein no little talent and some considerable spirit of patriotism, although we are not able to ascertain exactly what he would be driving at. Something evidently from the United States government, but whether an acknowledgment and exercise of Paternity, or a Recognition of Liberia as an Independent Government, we cannot make out. If he desires the former, the way to obtain it is not thus to abuse the "mother who bore him." People are not fond of adopting ungrateful and unnatural children. But perhaps he claimed for Liberia a recognition as an independent state! If so, let him cut loose from his old crippled Mamma, put on his *Unicorn* coat and come on to Washington, and claim the respect due to national manhood.

But notwithstanding Brother Teage treats the matter rather unadvisedly as we think, yet there is base and ground enough for his complaints. The fact is, the United States ought to do something for those colonies. They are bound in honour to acknowledge them either as colonies or a friendly power. The faith of high and honourable American citizens, the first names in the annals of our history is pledged to these expatriated people, who have sought in a barbarous land those privileges ever denied them in this,—and shall this pledge be forfeited? Let the present guardians of American honour decide.

Monrovia, *May 31st*, 1842.

Our Position.—We have reached a crisis. We have talked much of right and independence, and now our swaggering is put to the test, and we appear like a man placed in a misty vacuity, feeling around, but in vain, for something on which to lean. This our readers will learn from Governor Roberts' message published in our last. Of right, abstractedly considered, we shall have nothing to say, as there is but little connection between that and the principles which regulate the commerce of nations at the present. Every principle of right and justice is made to bow before the great Dagon of expediency.

The American Colonization Society, in consideration of promised allegiance and fidelity on our part, engaged by compact to take our infant hand, and lead us gently on to political adolescence; promising farther that whenever we should attain the strength and stature of manhood, to withdraw gently and peaceably their fostering hand, and leave us to reap the honours and combat the difficulties in the career of national existence.

In pursuance of their plan, the Society laid down a basis of municipal law to be gradually enlarged and modified to meet the evolution of circumstances. These colonies or rather settlements, are the theatre of the experiment. Notwithstanding all that was at first said and promised, it must have been ever present to all reflecting minds, that a demonstration of the practicabilily of establishing colonies on this coast, is the utmost that an organization like the Society can effect. The promise of establishing an independent nation, endued with all the faculties and attributes necessary for independent national action, far and wide trumpeted, served as a lure to unreflecting philanthropy. It attracted the sympathy and prompted the offerings of the friends of humanity, and our infancy was rocked in the cradle of liberality. While some were prompted by a blind philanthropy, others were moved by novelty, so that the motives which urged onward the early friends of the scheme, were little less numerous than the individuals.

We are far from condemning the ardor with which many embarked in the enterprise. We on the contrary commend it as performance of duty, which, had it been rendered at the command of justice to an injured and outraged people, rather than from the impulses of an unsettled philanthropy, would have continued to impart elasticity and vigor to steady exertions in the cause. The exertions were not the regular movement of fixed and enlightened principles, but the spasmodic action of temporary excitement, produced more by the novelty than by any conviction of the feasibility of the scheme. Hence the moment that unlooked for difficulties presented themselves, or the subject lost its freshness and the moment that its friends began to fall away was the same.

By the aid of these exertions however, the Society were enabled to accomplish all that could be reasonably expected of them—to redeem (as we humbly conceive they have done) the utmost pledge it were wise to make—namely, to demonstrate the feasibility of establishing colonies on this coast. The idea of raising the colony to the rank of an independent nation, is burlesqued by all the circumstances of the Society themselves. To say little in the first place of their inadequacy in means, and as little in the second of their want of character to demand for us a recognition of those rights and functions in which alone national individuality consists, and a courteous reciprocity of profitable political commerce, the only cement which binds nations together, the steady and uniform conduct of the American government in respect to the colony presents an insuperable obstruction.

In demanding of other nations what the Society as our patrons and guardians might deem our rights, on what grounds would they urge their plea?

Could they found it on the stipulations of any compact or treaty previously entered into? And supposing a treaty of recognition proposed, is it not reasonable to anticipate the question, whence have you derived authority to treat with nations? Between every other government and that of the United States, the rules of national communication are settled, and as only those persons who have been invested with the proper functions for the purpose have a right to demand, so only those have a right to expect a respectful audience.

Were it not for the purpose of illustrating what we have attempted to say, we would not repeat here what is every where known, that the American people as such, from the first disclaimed all connection with us. They know us only as refugees from oppression, seeking an asylum in a foreign land. They have never conceded to us any rights, nor in any way recognised us as an independent people. Their conduct towards us is that of a frigid and repulsive neutrality. But this is the people from among whom we have come, and of whom the smallest appreciable fraction has promised to mature us into all the strength, and endue us with all the functions of a sovereign nation—to exalt us from the depths of helplessness and obscurity, to the proud level of an independent community. To put the most favourable aspect upon the subject, let it be supposed that the difficulties already alluded to should be overcome, (which is not at all likely,) what answer would the Society return, when laying their petitions at the foot of distant thrones, to the question, "what has your government done in the case?" Do you demand of us concessions which your own country regard beneath its dignity to make? Whatever the people of the United States may think, the world will regard us '*Americans*,' as having the first and highest claim upon that portion of our countrymen whom unequal law has not driven from their country. None but Americans can enter into the spirit of those institutions which first disenfranchises without crime, and then for the crime of being disenfranchised banishes into exile: which seals the fountain of wisdom and then proscribes for ignorance: which connects in inseperable union, incapable of disrupture, a sable hue, and every variety of guilt. The idea that birth confers citizenship with all its rights and immunities has so universally obtained, that it will be a task of no easy accomplishment to convince the world that the people of these colonies have not the first claim upon America, for a recognition of all the rights which are usually conceded to a community coming into national existence, and for all the benefits which legitimately flow from such a recognition.

It then seems reasonable that the Society before they can, with any becoming degree of modesty, ask foreigners to respect us—to acknowledge that we have any rights at all, as a people seeking the privilege of independent action, should first obtain from the government of which they are members, (the people govern in America,) some favourable expression of our character. Every argument they might seize to urge others upon such a course would apply with greater force to their own government, whose neglect to do any thing in the matter, might moreover be regarded a strong presumption of its impropriety or injustice.

There is one argument, however, which it may be supposed the Society can urge, and urge with boldness. What this argument is, and whether it will be more potent in their hand, than in the hand of others, may be the subject of future remark. Governor Roberts has, in his message, taken a correct view of one subject of our difficulties, and has said all that is proper for *us* to say at the *present time*.

PRESENT STATE OF ABOLITIONISM.

The following statements are extracted from the principal editorial article in the Liberator of August 12, and are evidently from the pen of Mr. Garrison. They may be considered, therefore, as a part of the leader's estimate of the condition of the forces which he once commanded:

"The time *was*, when Arthur Tappan stood deservedly conspicious before the nation as an abolitionist, and when he was intensely hated by a pro-slavery church and priesthood; but where is he now? In what part of the battle field is he to be found? Once a year, he makes his appearance as chairman of that shadow of a shadow, the American and Foreign A. S. Society, and straightway disappears, until another anniversary comes round. Instead of being regarded by 'the pro-slavery party,' or by any party, as 'abolition personified,' he is neither known no thought of in the present conflict. He is no longer an object of terror or curiosity to the South, and exerts no influence at the North. I do not say this in a reproachful spirit—for my obligations to him are truly onerous; but every body knows that it is a true sentiment."

"Let us trace this affair a little further. Let us see what has become of those who once stood so prominently before the American people, as abolitionists of the most flaming character, and who separated from the old organization, in order to show their superior zeal in the cause of emancipation, by advocating it as 'men of one idea.'

"1. Where is James G. Birney? In Western retiracy, waiting to be elected President of the United States, that he may have an opportunity to do something for the abolition of slavery!

"2. Where is Henry B. Stanton? Studying law, (which crushes humanity, and is hostile to the gospel of Christ,) and indulging the hope of one day or other, by the aid of the 'Liberty party,' occuping a seat in Congress, in which body he means to do something signal as an abolitionist.

"3. Where are Theodore D. Weld and his wife, and Sarah M. Grimke? All 'in the quiet,' and far removed from all strife! True, they never openly endorsed the new organization movement, but practically have been in its favour, and have always been claimed on that side. 'Silence gives consent.' Once, the land was shaken by their free spirits, but now they are neither seen nor felt.

"4. Where is Amos A. Phelps? In christian fellowship and loving companionship with Hubbard Winslow and the other deadly foes of God and man, who, in Boston, claim to be the priesthood of the Lord, but are evidently of the devil. He is a petty priest, of a petty parish, located in East Boston. What a fall!

"5. Where is Elizur Wright, Jr. once a flame of fire, whose light was distinctly visible across the Atlantic? Absorbed in selling some French fables which he has translated into English! *'Et tu, Brute!'*

"6. Where is John G. Whittier? At home, we believe, but incapable of doing any thing important for the cause—except to write political, electioneering addresses for the 'Liberty party!' New organization has affected his spirit to a withering extent, and politics will complete his ruin, if he 'tarry in all the plain.'

"7. Where is Daniel Wise? For a long time out of the anti-slavery field, and now editor of the 'Lady's Pearl.' We are not sure that he now claims to be an abolitionist, even in form.

"8. Where is Orange Scott, who once shook the Methodist hierarchy to its foundation with his anti-slavery thunder? Morally defunct. He cannot

roar even 'as gently as a sucking-dove.' He fought like a madman against non-resistance, and has miserably perished, so far as the cause of reform is concerned.

"9. Where is La Roy Sunderland? Engrossed in matters appertaining to animal magnetism.

"10. Where is Hiram Cummings? I really do not know.

"11. Where is Alanson St. Clair? Tugging for a subsistence at the dry teat of 'evangelical' abolitionism.

"12. Where is David Root? Without root—withered—perished by the wayside. No longer visible as an abolitionist.

"13. Where is George Storrs? At Albany, at the head of a new sect to put down sectarism. I see and hear nothing of him as an abolitionist.

"14. Where is Charles W. Denison? He was recently installed over a pro-slavery church at Newton.

"15. Where is Nathaniel Colver? Enacting the part of a Baptist priest in Boston, and now and then exhibiting a spasmodic feeling on the side of bleeding humanity.

"16. Where is Wm. Goodell? Still deeply interested in the anti-slavery enterprise, I admit, but no longer connected with it as formerly. He is hopelessly endeavouring to find neutral ground between old and new organization on which to stand, but in the meantime seems to find it by far the most congenial to his feelings and affinities to act with the latter. He is measurably shorn of his anti-slavery strength and influence.

"Behold the catalogue! It might be extended, but let this suffice. All these individuals were consecrated to the work of abolishing slavery, (before the division took place in our ranks,) and publicly connected with the great movement; now, every one of them stands in a detached and anomalous position, and nearly all of them have ceased to be of any service to our cause!"

Such is Mr. Garrison's account of seventeen of his most influential supporters. He could not name ten others, who, in the days of his greatest success, were equally efficient in his service. He says, the calalogue "might be extended." This, every attentive observer of these things knows to be true; but should he extend it, the additional names must still be taken from among those who were once his most important auxiliaries. It is certain, too, that other men, capable of exerting the same amount of influence, have not come forward to take their places. "Where there is no wood, the fire goeth out, and where there is no tale-bearer, the strife ceaseth;" and where agitaters become few and feeble, agitation subsides.

Of the "new organization," which the deserters from his ranks have formed, Mr. Garrison says:—

"It has a name to live, and is dead. At neither of its anniversaries has any account been rendered of its receipts and expenditures; for the very good reason, I presume, that nothing worth mentioning has been contributed to its treasury. Indeed, so utterly deficient in zeal and efficiency has it been, that it has not been able to send forth a single lecturer into the field, or to continue its official organ, the Reporter, a *monthly* periodical!"

He maintains, however, that his own society is growing stronger; meaning, stronger than it was immediately after the division of the party, and before there had been time to reorganize the fragments of his forces that remained. That many new converts to his doctrines have been made since the schism, even he will not pretend.

Our latest intelligence from Cape Palmas, is dated July 16th, at which period the affairs of the colony were all in a flourishing condition. Nothing worthy of note had occurred since the sailing of the Harriet. "All's well" too at the windward colonies. The following are extracts from the Liberia papers of late date—

Launch.—On Saturday the 16th, the fine coppered and copper fastened schooner "Pedlar" was launched from the ship yard on "Spice Island." She is owned by Messrs. Payne & Yates, whose sagacity first discovered this island as the most suitable for building. Our old friend Draper is the architect, who in this instance, has sustained his reputation as a good workman. She measures about 19 tons.

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Light House.—This structure on the summit of Cape Messurado, has at last, so nearly reached its completion as to receive its lamp on the evening of the 20th ult. The "Herald" estimates its height at 280 feet, and thinks that with "good reflectors it would embrace a horizon of 25 miles." We doubt whether it can be seen so far, but even half that distance would be sufficient to render it of great use to vessels approaching our port in the night season.

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Engagement with a Slaver.—The boats of H. B. M. brig Roller, (Rolla?) have lately had a severe rencontre with the Volladore. The Volladore has made some half dozen successful trips, each time carrying a full cargo of slaves. The Roller fell in with her a few days ago, and attempted to board her with her boats She remained perfectly quiet until the boats went alongside, when the men on board opened a galling fire upon them with heavily charged blunderbusses. Eight of the Roller's men, including one or two officers, were severely wounded, and the boats forced to retire precipitately. The Volladore is remarkably swift, and of course escaped.

A few days before the engagement referred to in the above, the Roller was engaged in destroying a slaving establishment at Soolima (Soulima?) The destruction was effected, but at the same hour a cargo of slaves was shipped off about thirty miles to the windward, from a point which the Roller up to that period had been investing in close blockade for some two or three months.

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A New Mission Contemplated.—It would seem from the following note, handed us for publication, that the Rev. J. L. Wilson of "Fair Hope," (Cape Palmas,) intends a new establishment, probably in the neighbourhood of the Gaboon river, which, it will be remembered, empties into the Atlantic (according to Malte Brun) only 28 miles north of the equator, in the Pongo country; and where the natives are said, by the above authority, to be "bold and hardy."

Though we can but regret that Mr. W. should leave Liberia, where his labours and sufferings have been great, and his usefulness corresponding; yet he shall have our prayers for his success in the good cause, *under the equator*, or any where else in Africa, to aid the redemption of which, he has devoted his life. The note referred to in the beginning of these remarks is as follows:

Sailed from Cape Palmas, on the 16th of May, the brig Grecian, Lawlin, master, for Gaboon river, having as passengers, Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Griswold, missionaries of the A. B. C. F. Mission, on a tour of inspection.

Mr. CLAY AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

Mr. Clay was visited at Richmond, Wayne co. Indiana, on the 1st instant. After he had addressed the large assemblage of the people, it was announced that a committee of Abolitionists were present for the purpose of presenting to him a petition *for the liberation of his slaves.* Mr. Mendenhall, of Randolph co. was the organ of the committee. The petition was presented, unrolled and read, and then came the reply of Mr. Clay. We have not time to give even an outline of the answer of Mr. Clay. The time of presenting the petition was, he thought, out of place. He was a private citizen, and an invited guest of the people. At their urgent solicitation he had come to receive the hospitalities of the citizens of Indiana, and he thought that a decent respect for his feelings—for the feelings of his friends, and for their own characters as citizens of the state to which he had been invited, should have induced them to have withheld the presentation of the petition at that time, especially when during the last thirty years they could so often have found him at his farm at Ashland, where he would have received them with all the hospitality with which he was capable, and treated their petition with due consideration.

In the course of his reply to the organ of the committee, Mr Clay remarked that his negroes were all as well shod, as well clad, as sleek, and as fat, and pointing his finger significantly at the subject of his address, he believed they were as honest as him, or any of his associates in the petition.

Mr. Clay said he deplored slavery as much as any one. *He looked on it as a national and political evil, and would willingly join in any rational measure of eradicating it from the country;* but that he did not believe that the course pursued by the abolitionists could or would have this effect. He said abolitionism had put back the emancipation of slaves—that before abolitionism commenced its work, the people of Kentucky were nearly, if not altogether ready for the passage of laws for the gradual emancipation of their slaves—but the misguided, and, he believed, honest zeal of the abolitionists, had, to a great extent, destroyed this feeling. He implored abolitionists to pause and reflect in their present mode of procedure, and he assured them that in place of benefiting the slaves by their exertions, honest as they might be, they were but binding the chains more surely upon him.

After speaking about half-an-hour to Mr. Mendenhall, Mr. Clay advised him to go home and attend to his own business, and if he had any means to spare, to bestow them on the poor in his own neighbourhood.

Before dismissing the petitioners, Mr. Clay said he had one proposition to make to Mr. Mendenhall, and through him, to his associates. It was this: he held about 50 slaves, of the aggregate value of about $15,000. If Mr. Mendenhall and those who signed the petition would raise this sum of $15,000, or secure its payment *for the benefit of his slaves,* should he emancipate them, he would then give an answer to the petition. This will try the benevolence of the signers of the petition. Mr. Clay did not want the money for himself; he only asked that, in the event he should manumit them, the $15,000 should be applied to their benefit.—*Wayne County (Ind.) Record.*

Since the above was in type, we have seen in the public prints a full report of the speech of Mr. Clay, which we recommend to every Marylander for perusal, the more so as Mr. Clay stands first among the colonizationists of the slave states, and is one of the right sort of abolitionists: the eleventh commandment is his motto in this matter, viz:

"MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS."

METHODIST MISSION IN LIBERIA.

We have room for but a short extract from an excellent editorial in the Christian Advocate of the 19th inst. The Editor is a firm, consistent colonizationist and missionary advocate, and well knows that the missions in Africa and the colonies are most powerful auxiliaries in accomplishing the desired results on that continent.

"All the letters we have received from the colonists and missionaries, together with those which have been sent to the Missionary Board, speak of returning peace and amicable feeling among the people. Party strife has generally subsided, and if any wish to keep it alive, they are rebuked by the general feeling of the community. The peace of the Church, too, is restored, and brotherly love again cements the members into one body. Brother Chase, wisely abstaining from an expression of opinion on any subject connected with former difficulties, is looked up to by all with confidence, and hailed as a peace-maker, by those out of our Church, as well as those within it; and the civil authorities no longer look upon the Methodist mission as a rival establishment, but as an efficient auxiliary in accomplishing the great purposes for which the colony was planted. Nor are the late agitations without some compensating good. The real state of things in the colony, as well as in the mission, have been brought distinctly before the Missionary Board, so as to direct the individual attention of the members to the concern in all its parts and relations, and hence we may promise ourselves the aid of whatever of wisdom and prudence each can supply toward its future management. We have been taught too how to appreciate the labour, the sacrifices, and the skill which have already accomplished so much, and how to estimate the cost of that which remains to be done. Above all, we have been confirmed in the assurance that they who trust in the Lord shall not be confounded."

FALL EXPEDITION.

A New Song in our Mouths.—'How shall we be able to carry them all,' is the cry with us; and 'how many more can you take,' is the cry abroad. We have at least one hundred applications now on our list, and our travelling agent asks 'if he shall accept of more names.' "This is a different state of things from what I have ever known before," he writes. How many will actually be ready to go we are unable to say, but evidently there has been gotten up from some cause an entire new feeling with regard to colonization throughout the state. Many have applied to have some of their old friends and acquaintances return from the colony, that they may see them, and have living evidence that they have not been shipped to Georgia, or eaten by *sarpents*. They say, 'only let such and such a man, whom we know, come back, and all his acquaintance stands ready to go out with him.' This plan works well, one or two will return annually at the request of the Society, and as many more as please. People only need to be assured of the true state of affairs to induce them at once to abandon their present degraded condition, and enlist under the banner of freedom and independence. We are unable as yet to state precisely when the vessel will sail, but probably about the 1st of December.

☞ All communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal, or on business of the Society, should be addressed to Dr. James Hall, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.

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